

HOUSING DEVELOPMENT AND ORGANIZATIONAL CONFLICT

IN AN URBAN NEIGHBORHOOD

An Essay of Opinion Shaped By Observing Events

In The Elliot Park Neighborhood 1979-83

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In 1979 the Center for Urban and Regional Affairs became interested in the development beginning to take place in Elliot Park, the neighborhood between the University and downtown Minneapolis. As a CURA employee I went to public meetings and took notes, read documents and interviewed persons involved in the two neighborhood organizations and City officials. Between 1979 and 1983 I sought always to observe, never to intervene in the course of events.

HISTORY

Dr. Jacob S. Elliot donated two acres of his groomed gardens to the Minneapolis Park Board in 1883 and created one of the City's first public parks. Decades later this gift located between 9th and 10th streets and 9th and 10th avenues south became the namesake of the area when City government formally designated adjacent blocks as the Elliot Park Neighborhood. Today this neighborhood consists of approximately 47 blocks laid out in a rough triangle bordered on the west by the Central Business District, on the northeast by the Industry Square area and Highway 35 and on the south by Highway 94. Before the highways were complete in the late 60s and early 70s, Franklin Avenue acted as the southern boundary and Elliot Park touched the Cedar-Riverside neighborhood on the east.

One hundred years ago the small homes facing the park on the north and east housed skilled and unskilled laborers, native - born and immigrant, who were tied to the mills and other river activities. South and west of the park white collar workers from downtown businesses and entrepreneurs of various means lived in larger homes -often of brick and stone. The City Hospital, private hospitals and churches with immigrant roots brought traffic and attention to this location close to the center of a rapidly growing Minneapolis.

By World War I population pressures and a growing downtown workforce had encouraged construction of large brick apartment houses which replaced the earlier wooden structures on most of the blocks between the

downtown and the park itself. Chicago, Park and Portland Avenues which had been among the first street car routes south, were lined with these buildings. Commercial shops were scattered throughout.

By this time most residential use north of the Park had been replaced by light industry and the City's first zoning ordinance in 1924 roughly divided the current Elliot Park neighborhood into a northern section with the highest density housing and light industry and a southern portion with multi-family housing but no industrial use. Little provision was given to maintain the Elliot Park area as primarily residential with homeowning; instead, mixed use and rental property were the results of private and City choices. This pattern continued into the mid 1970s when a comprehensive development plan was written for the neighborhood with City and residents working together.

For decades City officials had assumed the future would bring population growth and physical expansion of the Central Business District (CBD) consistent with the expanding importance of Minneapolis as a regional center in the Midwest. Between the 1940s and 1970s the suburbs drew away families and the spatial needs of industry made location north of Elliot Park impractical. This neighborhood was coming to match the classic theories in sociology and geography which describe the ring of structural decay and property disinvestment that has come to circle the CBD of many northern cities which first flourished late in the 19th century. The residents left in such areas most often were those who had little opportunity or resources to live elsewhere because of income and/or color. Landlords of the big, old brick apartment buildings often extracted what rent

they could and reinvested as little as possible in maintenance, believing that the land rather than the structure ultimately would be of most value as part of a growing downtown.

Public attitudes toward the Elliot Park neighborhood's future were apparent in the plans that accompanied the City's first urban renewal which took place on blocks north and west of Elliot Park in the late 1950s. City fathers from both public offices and private corporations urged the use of new federal funds to "clean up" the "skid row" that had developed along Washington Avenue, Minneapolis' first main street parallel to the river. Some raised concerns about the poor who would be dislocated by change. While Minneapolis was the first large American city planning a complete rehabilitation of its skid row, similar actions in cities elsewhere indicated that low income people "simply disappeared" when their boarding houses and hotels were destroyed. A study by the Minneapolis Housing Authority and the University of Minnesota's Department of Sociology determined that approximately 4,000 single adults called that area their home. The results of extensive surveying showed that some people planned to move, others wanted to stay proximate to part-time employment opportunities, to the missions, bars, restaurants, hospital and bus transportation that was available. The researchers presented a plan to develop four group residential centers for the men being displaced. These centers would be located where no objections would be raised by the current residents; Nicollet Island and the green park space in the Elliot Park neighborhood were two of the sites chosen.

Such government sponsored housing never went beyond the stage of paper proposal; most of the residents from Washington Avenue did

"disappear" Some went on their own to nearby Elliot Park and found what housing they could. While the City gave little regard to events in Elliot Park, those with limited incomes and long time connections to the downtown area valued it.

PLACE FOR CHANGE

By the mid 1970s Minneapolis had already experienced more than a decade of "urban renewal" under a variety of federally sponsored programs. Nicollet Avenue and Washington Avenue had been brightened up and marked with impressive architecture ; affluent singles and childless couples were starting to be lured from outlying areas into revitalized residential buildings downtown. None of this yet had touched the nearby Elliot Park neighborhood where a curbside check showed continued mixed use and physical deterioration. The structural spectrum was exaggerated with the solid presence of large and active institutions - medical, educational, religious - on one end and overcrowded apartment buildings with broken windows and triple locked doors on the other end. In between were multi-unit rental buildings of various ages providing standard housing at moderate rents.

The State of the City 1977 (Vol I, pp 127,128 and Vol II, p178) reviewed the City in 1976 and described the Elliot Park neighborhood as a place where improvement efforts were "weak" and "serious structural deficiency" characterized 50% of the buildings. Ninety-five percent of the one and two unit structures were over fifty years old. Elliot Park was one of the neighborhoods sharing the bottom ranking for lowest median income - less than \$9,000 compared to the Minneapolis median of \$13,734. The high population of elderly in public and private group residence homes, students who enjoyed proximity to the University , and a large number of single individuals (many of them recipients of the County's General Assistance program) had very different patterns for daily living

and life style but they all shared the fact of limited income.

Two occurrences overlapped at this time which have led to changes in the situation described above. In 1974 the federal government redesigned its urban aid program as the Community Development Block Grant program and Minneapolis responded to its guidelines by creating a broad system for citizen participation in the local planning process. Elliot Park had been designated as one of fifteen Concentrated Improvement and Neighborhood Emphasis Areas; later Elliot Park was determined a Neighborhood Strategy Area (NSA) for focused attention by the City in its use of federal monies. At this time a few key individuals in the neighborhood facilitated the merger of the small Elliot Park Neighborhood Association with another local group with PTA origins. The result was the organization in 1976 of the Elliot Park Neighborhood, Incorporated (EPNI) and the beginning of resident participation in a planning process that led to new and rehabilitated housing.

Seven years later on March 10, 1983, the Minneapolis Tribune featured an article about housing development in the Elliot Park neighborhood. "Five years ago Elliot Park was like a man on the skids. Today - even though the neighborhood still has an agenda to meet - there's an aid of sobriety, of staying on the right track, a track that has led to the construction of more than 580 units of subsidized housing in just five years. (Minneapolis Tribune, Community Section, p. 1) Sandblasted beautiful old buildings with new weather tight windows, construction fences, and building cranes have been giving evidence of ongoing change in the neighborhood. The large institutions there have grown, the green space expanded, and the park itself has changed character with the construction

of a very modern park building and a full schedule of weekly activities.

Elliot Park neighborhood can - and has been - written about as the success story, rags not to riches but to respectability. This neighborhood indeed looks different now than a few years ago. This is commonly understood to be "progress" - a cleaned up appearance that comes only through intricate maneuvering through regulations, forms and meetings in both public and private offices to bring together funds leveraged from multiple sources, building blue prints and marketing strategies. The physical upgrading of structures and new construction makes clear that something has been happening in the area; it is not so easy to translate this into terms about the social meaning of the change. Neighborhoods are not only structures and activities; residents as well as onlookers from elsewhere in the City judge the worth of what has taken place from a variety of perspectives. This essay deals not only with the goals and means by which the development has taken place but also with the conflicts internal to the development. The combination of factors that work to create a rarefied atmosphere for change in Elliot Park and complicate future predictions, these are described first in the section that follows.

LOCATIONAL FACTORS

The proximity of the Central Business District originally turned the physical reality of substandard housing in Elliot Park into a question of blight. That is, the continuance of a downgraded condition there was unacceptable because the nearness to downtown gave the area great potential for "higher" land use related to the needs of the CBD. One of these needs is a "respectable" appearance of both buildings and the people around the gateways to the downtown; over the past years as the downtown business district has come to look better and better with private investment and public monies, a neglected Elliot Park looked less and less acceptable.

The long standing and multi-motivated "corporate responsibility" that Minneapolis has prided itself on encouraged General Mills to invest in housing rehabilitation in the late seventies in the Stevens neighborhood south of downtown. Daytons invested in a broad based neighborhood development program in the Whittier neighborhood further south and the Honeywell Corporation began spending money on housing rehabilitation in the Phillips neighborhood. These programs have varied greatly in scope, response by residents and the "final product", but they all provided models and set precedents for corporate investment in neighborhood change with resident based decision making. The Minneapolis Tribune, historically a Twin Cities booster, and Lutheran Brotherhood both have corporate headquarters that face downtown but have Elliot Park neighborhood as their backdoor neighbor. Both were early supporters of development there.

This central city location which encourages a visual face lift for Elliot Park has also led speculators to anticipate the higher land

uses than that of providing residence for low or moderate income people. Consequently, in the last years certain properties in the neighborhood have gone through multiple buying and selling negotiations with profit versus neighborhood stability as the decisive factor.

Proximity of Industry Square has affected outsiders' perception of the Elliot Park neighborhood just as the proximity to downtown has. For decades these blocks between the neighborhood and the river held businesses tied to the falls and the railroad yards, but by the forties such activity had lessened and by the fifties consultants were advising City planners that Industry Square (IS) had new potential as the location for industrial research and light industry. The City was warned against allowing the area to dissolve into parking lots or other operations with low property tax yield.

A report for the City defined IS as the "sleeping giant" and finally in 1973 it was declared a Renewal and Tax Increment District. However, little development or investment took place until Control Data Corporation negotiated with the City Council and Housing Authority in 1978 to get assistance for the acquisition of land there in order to construct a multi-million dollar Business and Technology Center (BTC). In conjunction with this negotiation the City contracted with the City Venture Corporation (Control Data being the principal shareholder) to design a comprehensive redevelopment plan with employment, housing and social service opportunities for Elliot Park and other nearby neighborhoods.

The City Venture project drew to a close in 1981 in the absence of continued financial support from the City government and active opposition by EPNI and neighborhood based groups from elsewhere. Late in 1983

only the completed and architecturally imposing BTC and an almost invisible bindary operation in an old plant were physical reminders of the plans City Venture once had for the area. But the hopeful promises of the original plans and the conflict that ensued heightened local attention to the geographic place and to the question of who would participate in deciding its future.

Most recently the potential of Industry Square and its spatial connections to the Elliot Park neighborhood have been shown in the City's design of an "Enterprise Zone" connecting sections of both IS and EP with neighborhoods further south. This was to create an area to take optimum advantage of new State legislation providing for tax abatements encouraging economic growth and job creation within the Enterprise Zone.

While the nature of downtown growth may be considered "set", the potential of IS is yet to be filled. Both City Venture and the Enterprise Zone concept indicate that regardless of the formal boundaries between Elliot Park and Industry Square, some persons in public offices responsible for local economic development see these two areas sharing problems and possible solutions.

Proximity of institutions: A number of imposing structures surround the Elliot Park neighborhood. The newest and most controversial of these is the Hubert Humphrey Sports Metrodome with seating capacity for 62,000 where games and expositions are going on approximately 110 days of the year. The billowy dome is an imperious - or awkward - landmark that can be easily picked out in the downtown geography. For those unaware of Elliot Park as a neighborhood, it can be simply located as being "south of the sports stadium".

Through dome construction in the early 1980s, there were many persons - including a vocal contingency in the Elliot Park neighborhood organization- who fought the decision to base a covered stadium in downtown Minneapolis. While dome supporters in the commercial district foresaw business brought in by sports enthusiasts, critics in Elliot Park anticipated traffic jams and parking problems, litter, noise, exhaust and confusion with thousands of spectators trampling through the area. Opposition to the dome brought some media attention to Elliot Park and a hard fought for agreement with City Council that some of the stadium related new employment opportunities should go to those living close by.

The reality is that few full time stadium jobs have been created; most work is low paying, part time and lacks advancement possibilities. And only through the dogged efforts by staff at EPNI has a small share of the concession work and its profit gone to Elliot Park residents. Although many neighborhood activities have been rescheduled to avoid stadium rushes, the sports center has brought less congestion than once feared; this is partially the result of stringent parking bans that EPNI pushed City Council to adopt. Subsidiary food and drink establishments that were expected around the dome and within Elliot Park have not yet materialized to create a visible "entertainment strip". Future such businesses may mean job opportunities, surely will mean more traffic and probably will do little to contribute to the idea of Elliot Park as a residential neighborhood.

The size of other institutions functions as well to "put Elliot Park on the map", bring traffic, parking problems, and create employment for residents. Swedish and St. Barnabus hospitals located in the area in the late 1800s, merged in 1970 as the Metro Medical Center in an expanded

facility. Across the street two medical office towers rise and parking ramps offer 1436 spaces. On the blocks just west of Metro the old City Hospital, now the Hennepin County Medical Center , also has approximately 2300 employees in its work force. These two centers work cooperatively on many levels and together run the biggest medical resource in Minneapolis with programs sensitive to health needs of low income inner city residents.

The northern and eastern edges of the Elliot Park neighborhood are dotted with Protestant churches which house white, black and some mixed congregations. In most cases members live beyond the area and travel to the center city because the church has chosen to continue in its building and in a location with historic ties. Many of these congregations have created and extended social services such as day care and emergency food shelves serving nearby residents.

Some institutions permanently house special populations which skew the population demographics and create an unusual kind of stability amidst the high turnover of renters. The North Central Bible College has been located in the Elliot Park neighborhood since the late 1930s ; in the 1970s and 1980s it engaged in a physical expansion of its parking, dormitory, chapel and student center facilities. Over a thousand students are on campus daily and more than 500 live in dormitory and college controlled housing in the neighborhood.

The Augustana Homes now cover parts of two blocks with 330 apartment units for the elderly and 365 rooms for senior board and care. These began in the late nineteenth century as a collection of social services that Augustana Lutheran Church offered to its Swedish immigrant population. A public senior citizen high rise has 199 living units; other

smaller private nursing and care facilities and county supported group homes provide residence for mentally retarded, mentally ill and chemically dependent persons. These concentrations of older persons and those living apart from traditional family units appear in the 1980 Census statistics as follows:

<u>Elliot Park Neighborhood</u>	<u>Minneapolis Geographic Area</u>
28% aged 65 or older	15% aged 65 or older
46% adults aged 65 or older live in group quarters	9% adults aged 65 or older live in group quarters
75% adult population in single persons households	38% adult population in single person households
15% adult males are married	44% adult males are married
15% adult females are married	38% adult females are married

The physical presence of these institutions within Elliot Park and their expanding capitol investment provides continuity and bears witness to the ongoing importance of Elliot Park's central city location. However, these institutions also undermine the goals of creating a "residential" neighborhood. The expansion of hospitals, schools and nursing homes as well as the expansion of the downtown commercial and business area toward Elliot Park has been termed "encroachment" in EPNI literature and has been a point of controversy in Elliot Park meetings as participants have considered development proposals. Expansion has meant the reduction of housing stock, the displacement of current residents and sometimes an increase in parking facilities which have little aesthetic value and can potentially encourage stadium related traffic.

Such conflict has taken different forms determined sometimes by the strength of ongoing relationships between the staffs of EPNI and NIC and

the staffs of the area institutions. On certain occasions the EPNI Board has expressed disagreement with the intent of others to move on new plans for development; however, most institutions have not "needed" EPNI support accept in the interest of neighborhood harmony. It is when an institution wants to make use of City funding aids and makes presentations before Council meetings, that the appearance of neighborhood unity has been most valuable. While institutions in the neighborhood have publically defined themselves consistently as in and of Elliot Park with responsibilities to it accordingly, EPNI itself has not consistently supported this same concept of neighborhood inclusiveness. But while that group has succeeded in getting area institutions to reconsider and modify their own proposals in the name of what EPNI has defined as "neighborhood good", the organization has rarely prevented development initiated by its institutional neighbors.

The Downtown, large institutions and the dome are contiguous to the Elliot Park neighborhood to the north and west, the Phillips neighborhood and Cedar-Riverside neighborhood are contiguous to the south and east separated by Highways 94 and 35. The proximity of other neighborhood organizations has influenced decisions within EPNI. Phillips and Cedar-Riverside have had active neighborhood resident organizations dating back into the 1960s; both groups have colorful histories that combine fighting certain City Hall decisions along with evolving an astuteness about working with City Hall to gain resources for their neighborhoods. These two groups have served as peer models for EPNI as well as offering peer criticism.

These groups along with other non-geographically based non-profit organizations in the City historically have competed with one another for limited public monies and attention. (The urban policies of the Reagan administration have resulted in a decrease in the amount to be fought for.) But along with the competition there exist social relationships among the paid and unpaid leadership of these central City organizations. People know and talk with each other, have united in political strategies and at other times have sharply questioned each other's interpretation of neighborhood "good" or neighborhood "development".

Each of these influences on change within Elliot Park could be elaborated on to suggest how individuals and organizations with diverse interests share consciously or inadvertently in decisions. It might be possible to weigh and balance the economic- political - social "powers" brought to bear on Elliot Park; however, the material that follows is focused on the definition and achievement of neighborhood goals by those living and working in the area and choosing to participate in the change process. In considering the results of the housing rehabilitation and construction in Elliot Park, there is an unresolved issue in this paper between how much of the change in Elliot Park is infused with generic issues about inner-city development which can thus be transferred to other settings, and how much of it is unique, the combination of factors including those above which are peculiar to the setting in Minneapolis. The availability of federal funds is a principle enabler of neighborhood change common all over the country, the next section begins with this.

PUBLIC INVOLVEMENT IN ELLIOT PARK NEIGHBORHOOD

Federal dollars passing through local public offices (always with regulations and time schedules attached) has been essential for the change in housing in Elliot Park. The federal Housing and Community Development Act (1974) consolidated earlier categorical programs for urban renewal and made City officials responsible for final allocation of monies to public or private agencies; in Minneapolis a many layered system for citizen input divided geographic neighborhood groups into ten planning districts and housing rehabilitation assumed new importance on the City's agenda. The Minneapolis Housing and Redevelopment Authority (MHRA) began to target the Community Development Block Grant funds with advice by the planning districts. An early step was City acquisition of property for resale at a write-down to private parties for appropriate development. It was anticipated that the actual rehabilitation would occur through combinations of other local, state and federal funding categories. Rather than scattering renewal monies, the City sought to bring about enough changes in a limited amount of time that private efforts would be able and confident in maintaining the new qualitative state. (State of the City, 1977, Vol II, p49).

The small group of Elliot Park residents - renters and property owners-who had defined "the neighborhood" as their concern, were conscious of the opportunities the City was presenting and were anxious to put Elliot Park into the expanding renewal activities. They were joined by some professionals working in the area's churches, institutions and businesses. Elliot Park was thus represented in the planning district for the central city called the Central Community Council. Because other neighborhoods

in this Council had development projects underway by 1976 owing to both private and City initiative, the Council advised the City that Elliot Park was due for attention. Such judgment was consistent with the City's own analysis about the needs of this inner urban area. Funds were appropriated to support the new neighborhood organization in establishing an office with a small staff; they were charged with maintaining community awareness of and participation in the planning process getting under way.

This young Elliot Park Neighborhood, Incorporated began to hold a series of public meetings and work sessions with City staff. After six months of continuing work by both City and neighborhood, An Improvement Plan for Elliot Park Neighborhood was completed in the summer of 1977 and adopted by the City Council as the official guideline for further action in the area. In the years since this planning process, a small core of staunch EPNI supporters has appeared faithfully at meetings with local officials to discuss and negotiate over issues first set out in this early document.

In a symbiotic way the City's attention to Elliot Park helped to legitimize the role of the new EPNI group and EPNI fit well into the City's outline for neighborhood organizations as a cooperative vehicle for citizen participation in the Block Grant decision making. This relation between the two appeared to affirm the sensitivity of the City to its citizens and to poverty as a problem being dealt with; in the absence of a competing organization, EPNI came to be recognized in City Hall as the voice of the residents in that area.

In this role, Elliot Park Neighborhood, Incorporated had begun monthly Town Meetings that continue to the present. While EPNI staff and

Board members have scheduled speakers and activities, the meetings are entirely open with participation and questions encouraged. Voting for EPNI Board members takes place in this arena with nominations from the floor; previous attendance at Town Meetings combined with neighborhood residence allows one to vote. Planners from public offices and private corporations, service providers, and elected officials with divergent responsibilities have all been billed as speakers over time. Some times they have come to the Town Meetings ostensibly to solicit input from residents, more frequently Meetings are to provide information for residents. Over the years the individuals who have participated most frequently in the Meetings and worked as volunteers or Board members, have been long term residents of the neighborhood (primarily women middle aged and over) and young people recently out of college. The latter type often are intensely active for some months or one or two years but then migrate away from Elliot Park.

NEIGHBORHOOD PLANS AND ACTIONS

The Improvement Plan was comprehensive with development goals not only for Housing, but also Public Safety, Recreation and Open Spaces, Transportation and Circulation, Health and Education, and Commercial/Industrial Development. Specific recommendations were made about facilities needed, land use and activities which would improve the quality of life in the Elliot Park neighborhood. An upzoning of the area was called for as a basic ingredient of change and this was accomplished in 1978. Modernizing the old park and extending the program offered there, re-engineering Chicago Avenue and other awkward routes, reducing street crime and encouraging commercial development were parts of the Improvement Plan on which progress has been made. However, it was housing that early became the central issue for EPNI in achieving a better neighborhood. This was due to the fact that access to public funds for housing seemed relatively direct and leading EPNI members were interested in housing, but most importantly the group's expressed analysis of neighborhood change fixed housing as the keystone in upgrading activity.

According to the Improvement Plan the implementation of housing goals could be facilitated by the MHRA, City planning and CDBG funds, the Greater Minneapolis Metropolitan Housing Corporation, the Minnesota Housing Finance Agency, grants and loans in the federal Department of Housing and Urban Development's 312 program, and the activity of a "Neighborhood Development Corporation" that Elliot Park could create to initiate its own development. "The establishment of a Neighborhood Development Corporation would provide the means for Elliot Park residents to have direct input and control over the specific types of housing and commercial development in the neighborhood" (Improvement Plan, p96).

This concept was actualized as the Neighborhood Improvement Company (NIC) , formally incorporated in May 1978 with a Board of nine persons dominated numerically by neighborhood residents or individuals working at neighborhood institutions or businesses. A young home owner with an architectural degree, Brian Nowak, left the presidency of the EPNI Board and became NIC's executive director.

Two complementary studies were conducted by NIC and EPNI during 1978. A University of Minnesota sociologist supervised a questionnaire administered as a random survey to 5% of the residents. This examined the person's present housing situation, preference for future housing as well as broader preferences about the neighborhood's future. The results indicated that people wanted no increase in the percentage of low income residents in the neighborhood but would like more residents of moderate or middle class income. Respondents expressed a desire for more families with children, a shift which would give Elliot Park demographics greater similarity to other residential areas in Minneapolis.

An architectural firm worked with aid from residents to survey the condition of all structures and develop a step by step sectionalized strategy for stabilizing old housing housing and integrating new development in the Neighborhood. The final result was a Housing Policy Plan; one of the architects involved said in retrospect that the scheme for development was to be a tool for substantiating - legitimizing - Elliot Park's efforts to attract funds as much as it was to be the actual framework and timetable for work. However, this plan supported home ownership as the most effective means to oppose rent increases due to speculation just as the original Improvement Plan had spoken at length of the values of home ownership.

Ideas within the Improvement Plan, the study of housing quality and plans for rehabing priorities, and the survey of residents' preferences fed into a specific policy statement endorsed by the EPNI Board in July 1978. This statement included general neighborhood "rights and responsibilities", a discussion of the relationship of economic, housing and social problems, the direction for that housing development to go and specific numerical goals for Elliot Park's population per income distribution. That is, it included the chart below showing the 1978 neighborhood population broken into income categories and a projection of the income distribution hoped for in 1982 with the assumption of housing development to take place in the interim. The new figures were understood to take into account the transiency rate and the availability of existing housing in the Elliot Park neighborhood and elsewhere.

The chart shows that in 1978, 65% plus of Elliot Park area families had an income of less than \$10,000 annually while the average income of individuals throughout the City was estimated at \$12,300 and the income of families at \$18,600. The goal by 1982 was to have a neighborhood population only one third low income, about one third moderate income and almost one third with middle incomes or above. Attachment C of the Policy Statement Part II read as follows:

To improve the quality of life in the Elliot Park Neighborhood a more typical demographic balance must be achieved. A better more balanced distribution of age groups is needed. More families with children and adolescents need to be encouraged to live within the neighborhood. A diversity of racial groups is a positive addition to neighborhood life. The transiency rate of neighborhood residents needs to be lowered to a level more in line with the city's average. Implementation strategies for these goals are outlined in Elliot Park Neighborhood, Inc.'s Housing Policy Plan.

In relation to family income, EPNI has set the following goals for change:

FAMILY INCOME					
PRESENT AND PROJECTED					
	Population Mid 1978 6,000		Population Mid 1982 7,000		
	%	#	%	#	
Low Income					
\$ 0-9,999	65%	3,900	35%	2,450	
Moderate Income					
\$10-16,000	21%	1,260	35%	2,450	
Middle Income					
\$16-36,000	10%	600	20%	1,400	
Upper Income					
\$30,000+	4%	240	10%	700	

This outline gave some structure to the dreams about Elliot Park in the future and provided a framework for relating social aspects of the neighborhood with the types of housing to be developed - assuming that persons at different income levels would be attracted by the different types of housing opportunities. Creating new housing at various costs would attract in a theoretically predictable way, persons with a range of income levels to be fit into the chart. Rather than Elliot Park being characterized as a place with housing of the last resort, Elliot Park would become a neighborhood where persons of all different means could live in quality housing.

A Housing Report in tabloid form was distributed throughout the Neighborhood in August 1978. This summarized the Housing Policy Plan and other Elliot Park efforts; graphics compared the present and future look of the area. The south west corner of Elliot Park was pointed to as the location which most of the polled residents chose as the priority for treatment and change. Eight large brick apartment houses and a public senior high rise shared the block between 15th and 16th streets, and between Park and Chicago Avenues. In these buildings once gracious apartments had been subdivided to provide cheap housing; the City police and fire departments were frequently called to service. An improvement in the appearance and reputation of these buildings on and adjacent to Chicago Avenue would have a significant visible and social impact on the neighborhood. This block became NIC's first priority.

ACQUISITION AND DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM

The Neighborhood Improvement Company went to work with a variety of resources. There were the housing documents and studies that had been generated by EPNI and NIC and there existed a working relationship with the City Planning Department and the MHRA. In this public sector there were a few key individuals who were excited about the possibilities and promise of Elliot Park and worked closely with the residents in the legal applications that would enable the flow of dollars. The MHRA assembled a multi-million dollar application for money through HUD's Urban Development Action Grant program as well as requesting Section 8 rent subsidies for rehabed housing units to be developed. Such federal certificates would guarantee that in spite of what costs might be entailed in rehabing, low and moderate income families would be eligible as residents because occupancy costs would be levied at one quarter of their income with the government making up the difference. Hence, the current low income population of the neighborhood would be able to remain in the area - so the thinking went.

The Department of Housing and Urban Development did commit 400 rent subsidy certificates in the fall of 1978; these were to be applied to housing developed within a three year period. While that put pressure on NIC to act efficiently, the number of potential subsidies was a victory for Elliot Park considering lesser allocations made elsewhere in the nation. However, the multi-millions hoped for acquisition and rehabilitation came much later as only approximately \$600,000. From the beginning NIC staff had pursued financial support in every possible arena, but the bad luck with the UDAG application reconfirmed the need for such a strategy.

The Improvement Plan had spoken about partnerships with the corporate community which would foster the neighborhood change. In a combination of luck and design, Nowak made contact at the Minneapolis Tribune with men who were supportive of plans for development in their own back yard and who were respectful of Noawak's energy, seeming expertise and his arguments for a relationship between Elliot Park and downtown businesses. A Tribune vice - president became an intermediary between NIC's plans and needs and the downtown neighborhood interests of the Downtown Council of businessmen and corporate executives. The experience and expertise of some participating bankers and real estate developers was made available to NIC and in 1979 a subcommittee began a long range fund raising effort among corporations to create a private fund of over one million dollars which could be used to leverage monies from other sources. By mid 1982 1.5 million dollars had been pledged, most of this in non-interest bearing notes and most of it from the Twin Cities' largest corporations.

One of the first local corporations to involve itself financially with NIC and Elliot Park was Lutheran Brotherhood which provided financing at below market rate for the acquisition of the first project named Old Town in Town (OTIT). EPNI held title to the buildings involved; NIC operated as developer for five late nineteenth century structures in the brown-stone architectural tradition. These multi-family buildings would be rehabed to offer cooperative pwnership at a market rate to moderate and middle income families and individuals. The promotion of co-ops had been an idea circulating in EPNI and NIC meetings from the beginning; it responded to the groups' belief that home ownership was essential for a stable neighborhood and to the committment that all income levels should have housing opportunities and control over their own housing situations.

The rehabilitation work on OTIT began in November 1979 and early in 1980 marketing had started for the 56 fresh units projected. In the spring of 1981 occupancy began. Project costs came to over two million dollars garnered from mixed sources - not all of which had been available to NIC in the early stages. The Acquisition and Development Program Investors Report 1980 carried the following break down of costs for OTIT:

<u>Project Financing</u>	<u>Cost</u>	<u>Source</u>
Seed Money Capital	\$311,500	CDB grant from City to EPNI. All development costs paid out of this grant - none were re-imbursable through mortgage financing.
Acquisition	\$595,000	100% financing from Lutheran Brotherhood Insurance Company at below market interest rate
Rehabilitation	\$1,512,000	Section 312 loan for rehabilitation
Write-down	\$168,000	Multi-Unit Leverage Fund, Construction Contingency Grant through MHRA

As the construction work on Old Town units went ahead, it served to announce visibly that change was at last underway in Elliot Park and that re-investment as opposed to dis-investment was taking place. When a model unit was first opened the news media, interested officials, some curious neighbors and a few representatives from the corporate world gathered to celebrate with members of NIC and EPNI. The first co-op home owners

included single individuals and childless couples but also some of the sought after family units with children. The conscious efforts of the NIC staff person handling marketing led to a handful of owners who were black and Indian; this responded to another original EPNI concern that the new Elliot Park continue to be open to racial and ethnic mix. Old Town In Town appeared to be a success.

The first new construction (as opposed to rehabilitation) was completed in 1983 on the south west corner of the Portland Avenue 15th Street intersection as NIC followed through systematically on its neighborhood wide development plans. The \$2,700,000 necessary came primarily from the Minnesota Housing Finance Agency and MCDA (MHRA became the Minneapolis Community Development Agency in 1981). This project included transforming an old vacated grade school building into 29 residential units and 22 town-houses were built on the playground . All of them are available to low and moderate income families through the Section 8 federal subsidies.

By late in 1983 NIC had put to use over \$10,000,000 and developed 224 housing units in five different projects. One hundred thirty-six of these - more than one half - were subsidized through Section 8 and the others carry mortgages for people of moderate or middle income. Eighty-five of the units have more than one bedroom to facilitate family occupancy.

Other private and non-profit developers have also created new or rehabed housing in the area since NIC began its efforts. Augustana Homes added more than 200 living units for the elderly during the recent years; while their plans to do so were long standing, the final financial arrangements were possible only through a creative proposal on NIC's part to include Augustana in a second successful UDAG application. Other non-profit

developers have been able to make use of the Section 8 subsidies which NIC could not deliver on quickly enough. One for-profit developer purchased a building that NIC had earlier been unsuccessful in acquiring, this was rehabed into condominiums which were marketed (the focus in the written material created emphasized proximity to the downtown rather than suggesting the possibilities of community life in Elliot Park). With all of these developments, NIC's actions can be rightly seen as the initial catalyst.

The story thus far is one of accomplishments. In less than ten years a classic aging inner city neighborhood has become a place of quality new and rehabed housing. Various parties have made financial investments in Elliot Park, the City has invested public monies in housing and made capital investments in the park and the streets, certain blocks have been designated for tax increment development on the assumption that the current growth in Elliot Park is going to continue. The expansion of institutions there and the turn in the housing stock should portend only good.

This "success" has included more than a half dozen years of communication between City Council members, City planners, MHRA/MCDA staff and EPNI, NIC staff, Board and participants. They have disagreed over priorities, timing and location of projects, and the amount of money necessary and available for implementation. Although priorities within the Reagan administration, state budget problems and City politics together resulted in the early 1980s reduction in dollars for urban aid and City neighborhood organizations, City - neighborhood communication continues on various levels.

Within the Elliot Park neighborhood the popular reaction to development has reflected the mixed blessing of increased property values and

consequently increased property taxes. This was anticipated and welcomed as part of the City's decision to be involved. However, it also has caused speculation and rapid transfer of some properties and raised the acquisition costs for NIC projects as well as for other developers who are serious about creating a neighborhood with a diversity of housing. For owners and landlords who desire to stay in the area but have limited budgets, the property tax increase has appeared unfair or unreasonable. Over the past few years EPNI staff have faced angry and bemused property owners and discussed the issue of rising taxes with public officials at open meetings. This is an example of how the value of neighborhood change can be perceived in different ways because of its various financial ramifications. The ambiguity of change was most evident in the conflict that came to characterize the relationship between EPNI and NIC even as the upgrading was ongoing.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN EPNI AND NIC

Over the past years when new housing or other neighborhood projects have been opened with public fanfare or when residents have gathered at events, EPNI and NIC staff and Boards have shared the stage, acted proudly, and complimented the efforts of the other group in bringing new opportunities and vitality to the area.

Initially the accountability of the two Boards to one another was unclear. People who became core on both new Boards had worked closely together on the first Improvement Plan; as both organizations were establishing their future roles in the neighborhood and expertise was yet to be developed, tasks overlapped and were taken on as joint ventures. All expected NIC as a developer and EPNI as the social "voice of the residents" to have different priorities, but most assumed cooperation would exist in the future. In a 1979 proposal to HUD, NIC wrote, "Where EPNI creates neighborhood policy, seeks funding and appropriates money for projects, NIC administers specific projects and EPNI and undertakes research and development for the implementation of new projects." In the absence of any actual development, discord seemed far off.

An overlap of the EPNI/NIC Boards had been written into the original NIC By-laws, "At least two and not more than four of these individuals will be members of the Elliot Park Neighborhood, Inc. Board of Directors." However, over time the NIC Board came to be dominated - if not in number, then by active leadership and communication with Nowak - by the members who came from institutions and agencies where they were already involved in matters of development and administration. While the EPNI Board also had a membership category for non-residents working within the neighborhood,

that Board continued to be dominated by persons with some history of living in Elliot Park and an intimate sense of what happens on which corner at what time of day.

After 1979 NIC staff dealt more and more with corporation executives, public financing agencies and construction contracts working to leverage and implement projects. And once the EPNI office had opened, residents began going there with diverse grievances and staff time was needed to respond to problems with landlords, efforts to find employment, ongoing concerns about street crime and seasonal concerns about snow shoveling and grass cutting on vacant lots. Rising unemployment and the cut back in County General Assistance funds in the early 1980s worsened the living situation of many of Elliot Park's single population. At the same time the number of Hmong refugees increased in the large apartment houses on the western edge of the neighborhood; they were vulnerable to the double effects of high rents and poor housing conditions and increased EPNI's concerns about the social integration of the neighborhood's diverse population. These matters which took the attention of EPNI Board and staff often offered no clear course for remedy as opposed to the more specific tasks of acquiring land and funding rehabilitation.

When EPNI first incorporated, money for maintaining the organization was tied to the City's Community Development goals and NIC's projects. But in 1981 and 1982 this source of money was drying up for reasons beyond the control of the neighborhood. EPNI had to let staff go; Board members and other volunteers provided coverage in the office and attended the meetings with City officials and private groups proposing actions that would effect Elliot Park. Efforts went into writing applications for foundation

and church funds ;eventually some of these paid off. For example, the McKnight Foundation through its MNship program allocated funds to EPNI which were carefully designated for staff and program relating to community outreach and communication in acknowledgement of the area's cultural diversity. And for one year church money paid the salary of a "stadium organizer", someone working to prevent negative side effects of stadium activities and to increase the stadium related job opportunities once promised. EPNI's uncertain finances which lasted for months in 1982 brought on a turnover of staff, discontinuity in program and an exhaustion of both Board and staff through overwork. This contrasted with NIC's relatively even budget tied as it was to development projects underway and to the continuity provided by Nowak's continuation as director.

Over the years NIC staff went again and again to Elliot Park Town Meetings , Board and subcommittee meetings to describe their projects, explain funding logistics and spread out blueprints. They often asked for "Concept approval" at the beginning of projects and for letters of support to be sent to City officials affirming the neighborhood support for NIC plans. Often the NIC timetable demanded that concept approval and support be given with little time for modification or discussion within EPNI. Dealing with the "mystique" of HUD's red tape carried a different timetable and strategy than dealing with residents shaking property tax statements or complaining about inebriates on the streets at night which fell within EPNI's role.

In meetings EPNI Board and staff began quizzing NIC about the rental and mortgage costs that went along with proposed development and the kinds of people who would be able to afford moving in. The process for

vacating tenants from buildings acquired for rehabilitation was questioned along with NIC's efforts to give EPNI residents first opportunity when marketing of a project began. In 1981 EPNI staff working with the Housing committee developed an "anti-displacement plan" to work into the development philosophy adopted by the EPNI Board in 1978. This work was encouraged by the interest in Elliot Park being expressed by outside developers, but it was also directed at NIC. From a document made available in March, 1981 titled "Elliot Park Development Philosophy" :

....there is an increasing amount of concern regarding actual or potential displacement of neighborhood residents that such development activities may produce.... In formulating a workable anti-displacement policy, the neighborhood must offer the current residents a reasonable degree of protection and assistance while maintaining an acceptable level of rehabilitation to achieve the development goals as outlined in the Neighborhood Improvement Plan.

Although EPNI recognizes the need to develop a broader, more balanced economic mix within the neighborhood, primary efforts will be directed toward serving the existing neighborhood population....

EPNI will preserve the right of all residents to remain within the neighborhood if they so desire while respecting the rights of those who wish to relocate outside the area.

1. by continuing to assure priority of "first right to occupancy of completed units" to those residents affected by neighborhood projects....

EPNI is opposed to "constructive eviction": whereby landlords/developers clear buildings for future development, thus attempting to avoid the payment of relocation/assistance benefits....

The neighborhood will take all appropriate legal and political action necessary to assure neighborhood control of development activities within the neighborhood. With the belief that a community based organization has a better handle on what the needs of the residents are and what resources are available, EPNI will attempt to develop a monitoring system with local government to keep on top of all potential development....

EPNI will assist any developer whose plans meet the needs of the neighborhood as outlined in this document....

EPNI and NIC appeared publically in conflict in the fall of 1981 at a hearing of the City Council Development Committee. Participants from EPNI aligned themselves with a non-profit developer - not based within the neighborhood - who was competing with NIC for City support for rehabing and using Section 8 subsidies for a certain block in Elliot Park.

The Surveyor, a neighborhood based monthly newspaper which has consistently won state journalism awards, has often carried stories about the NIC-EPNI conflict over the past years. In November 1982 a headline read, "NIC and EPNI Debate Future, Past" :

It didn't provide any immediate answers. But the opening round of what could be an important redirection of Elliot Park development policies was begun at a special October 19 board meeting of the Neighborhood Improvement Company (NIC).

"At issue is what the long-run relationship between NIC and Elliot Park is going to be, " NIC president Al McCook noted, focusing debate over the non-profit developer's need for a new mission statement.

"I think we'll be pretty much drawing the first stage of our existence to a close over the next year or so," NIC executive director Brian Nowak said. He summarized past activities, claiming success in achieving original goals of producing low and moderate income housing. "Presently we have produced 224 units, 61 percent of which is low income."

No entirely impressed was new board member Joaquin LeFebre, who has criticized NIC's record of dealing with tenants and minorities. "We've got to have more sensitivity towards these people and not condos," he urged.

Elliot Park Neighborhood Inc. (EPNI) staff persons Duane Friauf took a similar line, arguing for closer ties to community needs. "It seems to me the relationship of a developer to a neighborhood is that it should develop what the neighborhood wants to see."

...."To me, NIC is a developer and EPNI has the social responsibilities," responded board member Carol Collie. If one group takes on too much there'll be problems."

In agreement was Nowak. "We need reasonable goals. Times have changed, there aren't the tools there used to be," he noted, predicting NIC would be lucky to develop 20 percent low-income housing in the future.

"I think one of the lessons of the Rappahannock Building (601-609 S. Ninth Street, presently being converted from low income apartments into condominiums) is that private development is going to come into the neighborhood whether we like it or not. We're too close to downtown.

In September 1983 a front page story in The Surveyor reported that the annual elections to NIC's Board had been well attended and open positions filled more than ever before by individuals living in the area. Most lacked the downtown connections that some of the previous members had had and informally EPNI sympathizers talked of the election as a victory. In February, 1984 the front page headline read "Nowak Leaves NIC". The story continued that in November Nowak had offered his resignation and the Board had unanimously encouraged him to stay, however; in December the Board accepted his resignation after learning that Nowak had met with certain Council members and corporate funders at a meeting at City Hall. At issue were Nowak's questions about the legitimacy of new NIC Board and the August election; NIC board members had not been informed of the meeting.

The article continued, "Charges of bad faith and failure to be supportive have been exchanged between new board members and Nowak and supporters for months. A NIC Board member who works for the Augustana Homes development, and who was originally involved in creating the Improvement Plan in 1977, was the only Board member present to oppose acceptance of Nowak's resignation. A vice-president within Lutheran Brotherhood who was first involved in the financing of OTIT and who later joined the NIC Board, resigned in the aftermath of Nowak's resignation.

NIC's detractors have accused it of being a developer first and foremost as opposed to being a "neighborhood based" developer - a gentrifier insensitive to the needs of the population and insensitive to the need for inclusive versus exclusive decision making. NIC sympathizers would point to its success at creating housing in an inner city neighborhood with the majority of that housing subsidized for moderate and low income persons; they would point to the uncertainties and complexity of the development process (particularly for the non-profit developer) in times of inflation and then recession. They would point to the limits in time and support which could be given to neighborhood individuals to see that these persons participated as renters or buyers in the new housing.

Critics of both NIC and EPNI would speculate on leadership struggles and the question of neighborhood "turf" as it frequently arises between groups operating in the same area. Both organizations and Boards could be criticized about the process of decision making - how often the Boards simply affirmed decisions brought by staff. Both staffs often spoke in meetings about "the neighborhood" as if it were homogenous or held one view, but in Town Meetings there was rarely consensus on any issue though majority rule brought decisions. Over the years residents spoke critically of both landlords and tenants, of people who had money for high rents and high mortgages and those who no money. The Elliot Park residents who had neither income, shelter nor ruly street behavior were the object of great concern by some and condemnation by others. Those at Town Meetings and elsewhere have spoken glowingly about the "Cleaning up" that has happened through

NIC's housing projects, and they have spoken glowingly about the spirit of cooperation and good feeling that their experiences with EPNI have fostered.

It is easy for those outside of the conflict to suggest that it might have been avoided with more communication between NIC and EPNI and the willingness to assume good intentions as times when projects were first conceived, got slowed down and faced changes. Leaders in other neighborhood organizations might suggest that those making decisions in Elliot Park could have learned from the experiences of other groups in areas which also have poor populations and concern for housing development that does not result in displacement. However, Elliot Park's history, housing, and relations to downtown public and private forces are distinct. The renewal in Elliot Park began with the Improvement Plan, it is important to go back to this and other early documents to see how the development goals carried the seeds for disagreement and misunderstanding.

SECOND LOOK AT DEVELOPMENT GOALS

Between 1978 and 1983 NIC's activity appears to follow the goals and policies set out in the Improvement Plan. The comprehensive goals had been to 1) encourage rehabilitation - and this was a clear accomplishment, 2) encourage the "identity of the neighborhood as residential". It is hard to gauge the success of this for identity is a question of perception and who is perceiving can have multiple answers. Surely the commitment of public and private monies for housing indicates that financial decision makers in various institutions perceived Elliot Park as a residential neighborhood or perhaps more accurately as a potential residential neighborhood. Internal to the neighborhood-the EPNI committees, Town Meeting and The Surveyor continue to present housing and the area's residential makeup as a primary issue and draw attention to actions which call for other land use. As for people identifying with "Elliot Park" it is conceivable that City officials dealing with many areas are more likely to use this label than are the majority of people who live in this neighborhood but are uninvolved with organized activities.

A third goal was to undergo rehabilitation in such a manner as to maintain housing opportunities for the current neighborhood population in order to prevent dislocation. (Comprehensive Improvement Plan, p54). As indicated earlier, this was the goal which tested and split the efforts of NIC and EPNI. It is discussed here in greater detail.

In the first report of the Neighborhood Improvement Company's Acquisition and Development Program report, the section labelled "Toward Social Goals" read as follows:

Of the most important theories proven out in this past year is the fact that given the right type of home-ownership opportunities, present residents can be attracted to stay in the neighborhood, preventing out-migration, and new residents can be attracted to establish homes in the downtown neighborhood. The Old Town In Town project has borne this out with an overwhelming marketing success.

This report showed with pride that eleven applicants for the fifty-six new residences in Old Town In Town were individuals or families who had lived in Elliot Park previously and twenty worked in the area. (The area for employment purposes was defined to include the downtown and employees in nearby Lutheran Brotherhood and the Minneapolis Tribune had been solicited as potential residents for OTIT.) In the last Acquisition and Development brochure from late in 1982, NIC reported, "Here /meaning in Elliot Park/ where an uncertain economy and real estate speculation have combined to create an unstable housing market, a comprehensive plan for housing opportunities is beginning to create a healthy economic balance,"pl. However, the development process had included unexpected problems.

When OTIT was begun, market rate housing seemed the only feasible alternative as NIC surveyed finance possibilities for this first project. Some people both within and beyond Elliot Park considered the Section 8 allotments and wondered by low income residents and subsidized units were not getting the first consideration. When rehabilitation was about to begin some of the existing residents were reluctant to leave the buildings and confused about the letters and information they had received which warned of the impending action. Some tenants ultimately had to be forced out by the City - creating bad public relations with many groups. (Problems with OTIT did not end there, when occupancy at last occurred NIC's lack of experience in dealing with construction companies and construction problems

became apparent. Residents discovered inferior and unfinished elements and for many months the new OTIT co-op board had to deal with complicated legal matters determining the financial responsibility for the problems. EPNI, NIC and the construction company all figured into the conflict.)

Being a temporary landlord and evicting tenants had been an unpleasant reality for EPNI. However, the housing policy as described in the Improvement Plan had indicated that dislocation of some people was desirable; that plan expressed concern about "transiency and instability of residents" with suggestions for reducing the unstable elements and making the neighborhood a "more desirable place for people with higher incomes," p55. People working downtown and those interested in being homeowners were implied as being the more desirable.

The chart with its numerical population goals which was passed by the EPNI Board in 1978 assumed a decrease in persons with low income and an increase in persons above that level. It was thought that better housing, i.e. more expensive housing combined with the location of Elliot Park would automatically result in an increase of such higher income residents. Altering the number of low income persons proved to be more problematic.

It is possible - but unlikely- that housing changes and population flows could be synchronized so that the natural ongoing out-migration of residents and housing turnover would happen in the same numbers with the same timing as the reduction of substandard housing and its replacement by rehabed units. It was unlikely that just the right numbers of low income people would be in Elliot Park who met social and economic qualifications for subsidized housing. There were basic weaknesses with the assumptions that population shifts would take place easily as part of the development.

The first is the simple matter of logistics. The time and process between acquiring old buildings, vacating and rehabilitating them for occupancy again can be lengthy and unpredictable, particularly for NIC where multiple funding sources were being used with government red tape and snafous built in.

Before the three large brick apartment houses on Chicago Avenue between 14th and 15th were in line for being vacated in NIC's second project, EPNI staff worked to create more neighborhood understanding - not wanting to repeat the OTIT experience. Staff conducted a lengthy apartment to apartment survey explaining to tenants the public relocation benefits in money and services to which they were entitled. They also explained the future plans for Section 8 subsidies and the co-operative form of home ownership. (Subsidies and home ownership were a combination that NIC originated with HUD. As the project moved slowly along, fiscal problems forced NIC to reorganize the project with limited partnerships and tax syndication with resident control but not resident ownership. NIC understood these changes as the only way to save the project; EPNI staff interpreted this as renigging on a promise made to the neighborhood about ownership possibilities.)

Evacuation of the buildings took place in 1980, occupancy took place in 1982. Former residents were given the first priority in qualifying for the new units per the anti-displacement policies that had been worked out between EPNI and NIC and the marketing efforts by NIC staff. Residents displaced by the OTIT project were given second priority and residents slated to be displaced by future efforts were given third priority. However, any of the original Chicago Avenue tenants who wanted the opportunity available would have had to move, live elsewhere for two years and then successfully comply

with government and NIC guidelines for residency. During the original door to door survey ,EPNI staff found many of the sixty plus households wanted to stay in the Elliot Park area but only four said they wanted to return to these units as reported in a Housing Committee meeting in August 1980. When the buildings were completed many of the earlier tenants could not be located inspite of efforts to track them , others were in household arrangements that could not be matched to the housing newly made available.

A second problem with the goals as they were stated concerns the selection of current residents to be protected from the dislocation. In the Chicago Avenue project all new residents had to be of low or moderate income as determined by the Section 8 guidelines, and if the neighborhood goals had been only economic mix within the population, then these new residents would surely fill some of the "quota" of people of one end of the income spectrum. However, the additional goal of not displacing residents meant that Elliot Park poor or low income residents were differentiated in the minds of some from those with equally disadvantaged incomes but living elsewhere in the metropolitan area. In the newly developed pr rehabed housing, the percent of renters or owners who had been prior residents in Elliot Park became the means by which some determined NIC's "success" in responding to the housing policy. (The fact that the Elliot Park neighborhood has always had a housing turnover rate higher than the city's average did not seem to be taken into account in such thinking.)

Residents living originally in buildings acquired for development did not line up conveniently in the two possible categories of 1) planning to leave the neighborhood anyhow in self chosen patterns of migration (and thereby reducing the numbers of low income persons per the desired

population adjustment), or 2) eligible as families and/or potential homeowners for the units to be developed. A desire to increase the number of neighborhood families was one finding of the housing survey conducted in 1978, and this was also part of EPNI's earliest conceptions about the nature of a residential neighborhood. Additionally, Section 8 allotments for Elliot Park were restricted to the government's definition of families or disabled individuals. But many of the "current residents" were not within families, nor did homeownership appear a likely proposition for many of them.

Home owning in the Housing Policy was interpreted as a keystone for Elliot Park development. "Ownership of ones own shelter builds economic self-reliance, greater care /of housing/ leads to concern for surrounding neighborhood." (Housing Policy 1978 , Part II). (As described this ideal seemed not to consider that people may seek to own housing for economic investment only-without the longterm social attachment to neighborhood.) Co-operative ownership was encouraged as a response to the limited incomes of many residents. Elliot Park residents attending Town Meetings were educated about the nature of co-ops as the least costly approach to homeownership and the opportunity to invest with others in controlling ones living situation independent from the neglect of absentee landlords.

Elsewhere the Housing Policy said , "To become a viable neighborhood more Elliot Park residents need to become economically self-reliant. Job development and residential ownership of property are two of the most critical areas of neighborhood economic development." The thinking followed that if the job opportunities could be created for residents, that would give them the wherewithall to become home owners. Hence, no displacement.

In the most idealistic terms, a reduction in the number of poor in Elliot Park would be dealt with not by having them leave the neighborhood but by an improvement in their economic status.

In 1979 in line with this, NIC staff wrote an innovative grant application to HUD for special monies. The proposal was based on the equation that creating employment for neighborhood residents allowed them to make use of the new housing to be developed in a process called "Gentrification from Within." But a grant was not forthcoming and NIC's involvement in job creation ceased after an ambiguous relationship in 1979 with the City Venture Corporation which had promised to create jobs in the area but could not guarantee that the jobs would be filled by area residents (pp.9,10). In the aftermath of dealing with City Venture, EPNI staff worked with staff from other neighborhood organizations on approaches to job creation - economic development - on a neighborhood level. The City planning department gave some staff time to this effort but the neighborhood's lack of experience exacerbated by the national unemployment increasing at the time, meant that the goal of increasing incomes of Elliot Park residents met with little success. EPNI's internal budget problems followed shortly and economic development got only inconsistent attention.

While the Housing Policy and other Elliot Park materials spoke of responding to the housing needs of current residents and to low income persons, they also spoke about the "unstable element" and the desire to alter the proportions of different economic classes. Someone would have to go. Residents were in fact subdivided into those who could and could not meet formal and informal requirements as future householders and homeowners; there were "desirable" and "undesirable" current residents.

Some people with low incomes, the habits of good citizenship and long term residency were very much wanted as one end of the economic spectrum by those making plans for the future Elliot Park. Other families were welcomed as being able to make use of the subsidized housing, the co-operative housing and begin building up the contingency of families crucial in a "residential" neighborhood". However, the appearance and behavior of some residents conflicted with the goal of making Elliot Park a "respectable" place to live. Individuals - sometimes incorrectly - were identified with street corner drinking and evening violence. Some were recently out of institutions and found cheap shelter in Elliot Park but could not qualify for programs that might require credit references with utility companies and the assumption of long term commitments. Such persons were often living in the buildings of worst condition - the same buildings that were earmarked in development plans to undergo rehabilitation.

As indicated in the earlier section with quotes from The Surveyor, the most bitter exchanges between the NIC and EPNI staff and Board members involved the degree to which development was understanding of and respectful of the needs of the people with the lowest incomes as well as the lowest social status. The debates appeared to break down on the issue of how such needs - and if such needs- could be incorporated in development which was constrained by financial limits and federal guidelines. In the very earliest stages of dreaming about the future Elliot Park, economic development and job creation had been idealistically forecast as a tool for dealing with the reality of low incomes, when little progress appeared possible on that level, NIC was inadvertently and indirectly left responsible for tailoring its

housing development to accommodate all low income housing needs that existed. NIC staff could uncover no financing and development tools to do this, nor did they accept this as their priority for a neighborhood with a range of income levels was in the plans as much as the goal of avoiding displacement.

If some persons were not welcome in Elliot Park, what would become of them? In Town Meetings and Board committee meetings, some residents expressed the hope that the "progress" underway would cause the "undesirables" simply to "disappear" as they had twenty-five years earlier along Washington Avenue downtown. During the winter of 1982-1983 when the number of homeless individuals needing emergency shelter reached crisis proportions in Minneapolis as in many American cities, the question of using Elliot Park churches for emergency shelters was debated in a Town Meeting and within the EPNI Board. Attitudes ranged from generous to punitive ; a comment repeated in many forms at the Town Meeting was that historically Elliot Park had been a "dumping ground" for such people, this was now beginning to change and the progress had to be protected. This same sentiment was expressed by residents in some of the neighborhoods adjacent to Elliot Park also undergoing change. Aside from the needs of winter shelter, some staff in the organizations in these other neighborhood had been critical of developments in Elliot Park for they anticipated the poorest in Elliot Park to migrate - by necessity - beyond the area's boundaries and exacerbate housing and other problems with which their neighborhood groups were already grappling.

Anthony Downs of the Brookings Institute argues forcibly in a book titled Urban Neighborhoods that as long as housing is expensive as it is and income distribution continues to be as uneven as it is, large numbers of the poor will not be able to afford what is considered standard

housing. Because no government has opted to subsidize as many units as there are people economically eligible for them, cities will "need" substandard housing.

Rehabilitation of housing units does not lessen the need for affordable substandard housing. In fact, while it gives new life to basically sound structures and changes the look of a neighborhood, it usually decreases the number of units available to the poor through the slow trickle down that historically has provided the major percentage of shelter for those with the lowest incomes. The number of standard units newly created is often less than the original number because of illegal subdivisions that often take place in substandard housing with absentee landlords. While the market value of an old housing unit may be very low, its use value may be very high for a sector of the population even while they too deplore its condition.

The above is not to argue that the substandard housing in Elliot Park should have been left as it was - and some still is. Such housing-while being greatly "used"-may also be associated statistically with high incidences of poor health, crime, juvenile delinquency, vandalism and social disorganization with the cause and effect relationship neither clear nor seeming to be susceptible to intervention. (Such a negative reputation was particularly true about the apartment buildings on Chicago Avenue before they were rehabed.) But to recognize that the "old" Elliot Park was functional for some people who now are less and less welcome in the midst of revitalization is simply to recognize that the meaning of neighborhood development is multi-faceted.

CONCLUSION

The original planning for Elliot Park came out of new federal programs for urban aid and new City planning structures and tools that were supportive to neighborhood groups as partners in change. Over more than seven years a handful of residents, employees in the area and organization staff have spent thousands of hours in meetings and have worked to develop a knowledge base about people and problems in their neighborhood, about City bureaucracy and federal programs. Always Elliot Park was defined with a set of geographic boundaries; the map of Elliot Park appears frequently in the public relations material generated by both EPNI and NIC. Elliot Park neighborhood is clearly a place.

A place, however, is a combination of structures and activities but also of meaning attached to these. Some of the structures in Elliot Park are changing or have changed. How many more will change may well be the function of the amount and cost of competing housing developed in downtown Minneapolis and the other surrounding areas which are trying to attract the downtown workforce as residents. The commercial enterprises that the Sports Stadium eventually encourages will also affect the physical look in Elliot Park. The original planning formula asserted that different kinds of housing would lead to different kinds of residents and life styles that would strengthen the "stability" of the neighborhood and increase its identification as a "residential neighborhood". Structural change would lead to a change in the meaning of Elliot Park.

This is too simple, the changes in Elliot Park have different significance for different groups; this cannot be immediately assumed from a

curb side survey of newly cleaned brownstone apartments. One could argue with the ideology woven into the Improvement Plan and other documents - what is a "stable" neighborhood ? and is home ownership still the American dream? does it act as therapy in making people into "good" neighbors? couldn't new homeowners coming in use the neighborhood as a stepping stone to better investments and become a new class of transients? It is much more helpful, however, to argue that EPNI and NIC originally promised too much and persons in both organizations labored within that framework without the benefit of dissecting the promise in careful, continual discourse over time.

The promise was affordable housing, different types of housing with different funding options, no displacement, housing opportunities geared to residents' needs, and both a stable and mixed neighborhood. This was to be done not for profit where success has a simple definition , but by a non-profit developer spun fresh out of a small group of residents with varying levels of related expertise and separate understandings about class difference and class mix which would appear only when tested by actual development. With the support of City agencies these residents initially discovered their strength in being able to design on paper a neighborhood that would be the best of all possible worlds - crime free, an aesthetic living environment where everyone could live in quality housing regardless of inequalities in income. The NIC began dealing with the realities of real estate , financing and red tape delays while the staff and volunteers within EPNI worked to keep abreast of all other chronic problems and new changes in the area. While EPNI could successfully advise the City in how to alter streets or improve the park, it could not change the inadequate income, poor health and alcoholism that plagued many residents.

Under Nowak's leadership NIC creatively used the tools local, state and federal government offered regarding urban change and housing opportunities. Every project carried a different mix of public and private money; every project offered something different in design and the form of occupancy cost for the new resident. In Nowak's absence and in light of the reduction in federal funds, it is unclear how much more planning on NIC's drawing board will actually take shape, but a migration into the neighborhood has begun. And EPNI has put in place elements of a social caring community to include old and new residents.

However, in the initial policies and plans and the multiple public meetings held, the gap between the vision of a future Elliot Park and the demographics about the neighborhood's poor population were never clearly acknowledged. The plans said that some poor would remain in Elliot Park and some poor do and will - some of them in new Section 8 subsidized housing and some in old buildings. Some will never qualify for subsidized housing, have no dreams of family life and home owning and if they are vacated so that renewal can continue, they have few housing options. NIC concentrated on the ideal vision of what could be and EPNI concentrated on day to day events. While some persons labelled NIC a gentrifier and EPNI the defender of the poor, both organizations faced a national reality that America has thousands of persons who for various reasons are usually unwelcome in the labor market and in most neighborhoods. Both organizations accused each other of taking positions on this problem, but they failed to engage each other and area residents in an open and ongoing discussion about this serious national issue.

WHAT WE DON'T KNOW:

Value of individual properties

Ownership of individual properties

THEREFORE: we cant talk about impact of property value elevation on individuals living inside as opposed to outside of the area

(we can say some things about gross amounts of homestead and non homestead property)

we can't talk about the rapidity of change in ownership over the last years (this may speak to speculation)

we can't talk about a centralization - or lack of it - in land ownership in the area or talk about the increase or decrease in it

WHAT WE DO KNOW:

Block by block values

THEREFORE: we can calculate how value is arranged spatially in the area- eg proximate to the stadium, the freeways, the changes in structural development

we can - loosely - analyze what might be happening to the tax increment blocks if their values weren't captured

Nature of building type on each block

THEREFORE: we can see what a particular blocks value is derived from, is it the land or construction, more specifically does it appear to be the blocks location or the development which is significant

we can see what might be the potential opportunity or likelihood for the development of the land which is currently vacant

we can suggest whether it is renters, home owners or biz men (who may be either renters or owners) who are most affected by the property increases

and therefore we could suggest who profits most or loses most with the property value increase

WHAT WE KNOW continued

Comparison of the three areas

(I made no calculations about the internal dynamics of the Whittier and Downtown areas, However.... we could

THEREFORE:

apply any of the comparisons from the earlier sheet about Elliot Park, to EP and Whittier and Downtown

suggest how development is taking place differentially in these three areas altho generic "development" is taking place in each

The following chart is based on the "Totals" offered at the end of each of the sections of the print out. The precents are made by comparing the total figures for 1980 and 1982/83

It indicates:

Elliot Park had the greatest percentage of increase in homesteaded residential property.

I think is the function of the absence of many such properties for a long time and the addition of a few condos (depending on how these are classified on the code) really hikes up the per cent of increase in the area

percentage

Elliot Park also had the greatest ~~amount~~ of increase in the assessment of "Other". I think this is more related to institutions than it is to business - nursing homes etc. However, to be certain about this I would want to look more closely at the blocks with the addresses of all these places handy

percent

Whittier had the greatest overall increase in the value of residential development. I'm unsure what this means=

percentage

Downtown had the greatest ~~amount~~ of increase in value when all development is grouped together. I assume this reflects the balance of "other" development and the new condo housing in the downtown area - a strong , consistent development untrue in the other areas.

Elliot ParkWhittierDowntown

(Amt Increase Between 1980 and "current")

Homestead Resid	<u>3.32</u>	1.65	1.53
NonHom Resid	1.41	1.34	1.38
Single Total	2.19	1.53	1.45
Apartments	1.04	1.20	1.13
Total Resid	1.08	<u>1.29</u>	1.16
All Other	<u>2.28</u>	1.02	2.06
Total	1.69	1.15	<u>2.04</u>
Vacant Parcels	72	63	27
Value of ↑	635,118	1,480,200	1,763,200
Records for Area	580	2262	225

DIRECTION OF PROPOERTY VALUE CHANGE ON EACH BLOCK OVER TIME



Indicates value increased between 1980 and 1982/83



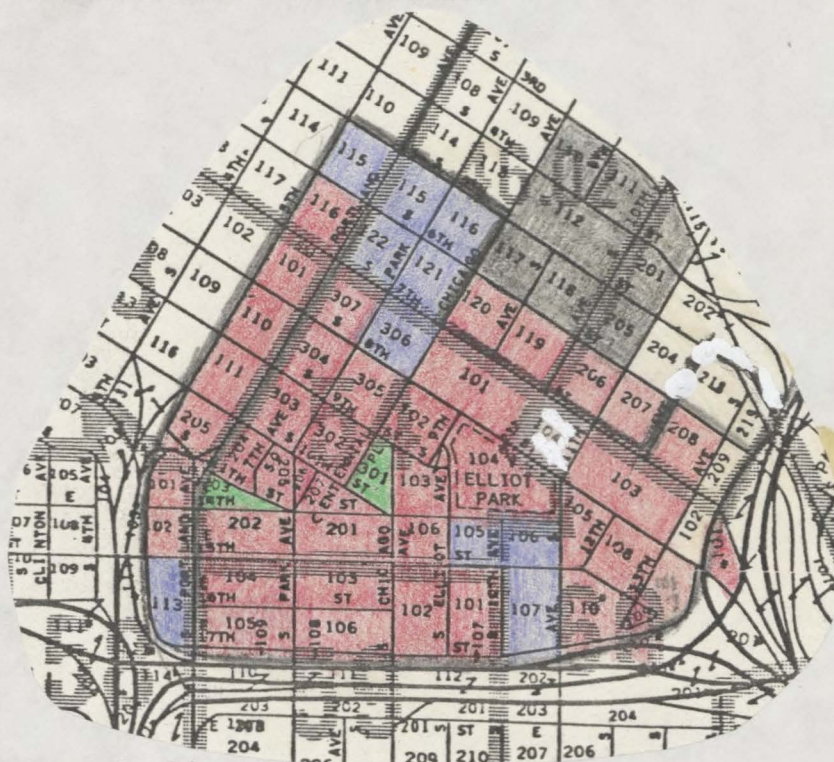
Indicates value decreased between 1980 and 1982/83



Indicates value stayed the same- Looking at the blocks where this is true, some seem to be in a tax increment district, others are blocks where development has been taking place so perhaps the unfinished status of that has prevented evaluation from taking place.

Blank

Indicates information not available



WE LEARN:


Nothing so shocking


Almost all blocks increased in value ,

Two lost value for unknown reasons - *cleared for new structures*

H.O. #	CONDOMINIUM	YEAR BUILT	DATE RECORDED	HOP IV	# OF UNITS
70.	4370 Brookside Ct. (see 67)	1967			
71.	4350 Brookside Ct. (see 67)	1968			
72.	Bassett Creek 1336 Edgewood Ave. No. Golden Valley	1965	2-26-76		12
73.	Parklawn East & West 4351, 4401, 4480 Parklawn Ave. Edina	1968	12-18-75		59
75.	1832-34 Buchanan St. NE Minneapolis	1967	1-26-76		2
77.	Sagamore 10750 Rockford Rd. Plymouth (see 82, 90)	1976	1-21-77		180
82.	Sagamore 1 (see 77)				
83.	Westwood Villa 2200 Nevada Ave. So. St. Louis Park	1970	1977		66
84.	Calhoun Ambassador 2928 Dean Pkwy. Minneapolis	1959	8-17-77		42
85.	Greenbriar Village 10411 Cedar Lake Rd. Minnetonka (see 93, 102, 125, 126, 127)	1975	6-21-77		462
87.	Southdale Gardens of Edina 6309 York Ave. So. Edina	1965	4-15-77		48

BLOCKS WITH THE GREATEST AMOUNT / OR PERCENT OF INCREASE BETWEEN 1980
and 1982/83

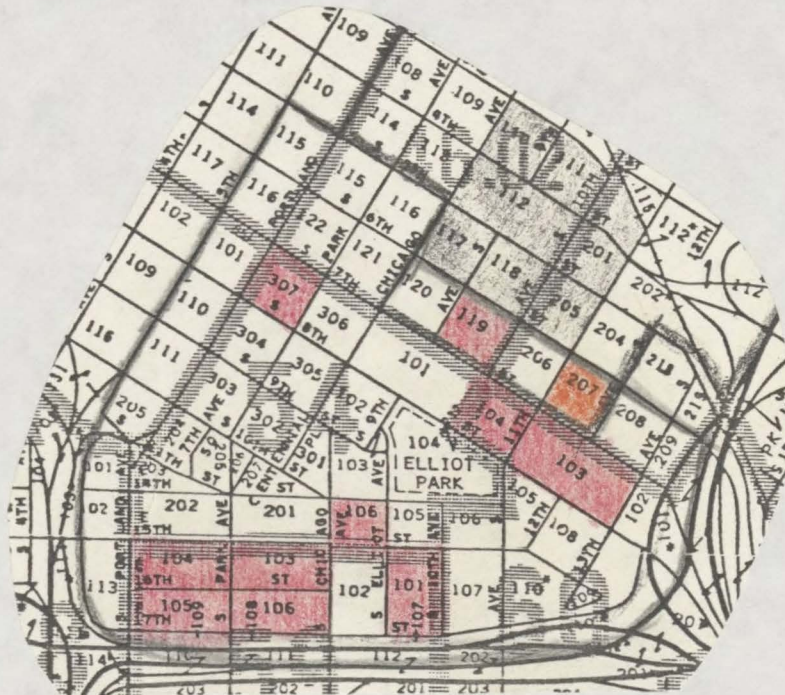
 Indicates an increase in the block's overall value
of at least one million dollars in the time period

 Indicates the increase in the block's overall value
at least doubled in the timeperiod (this usually
was because the values were less than one million

On some occasions the value had doubled and the
doubled value included over a million increase,

In any event these are the HOT blocks in Elliot Park

Blank Indicates increase less than one million or less than double



WE LEARN:

The blocks showing greatest increase ARE NOT
in the most part located proximate to the stadium

They are the blocks where buildings are being built
or remodeled in the southern part of the area

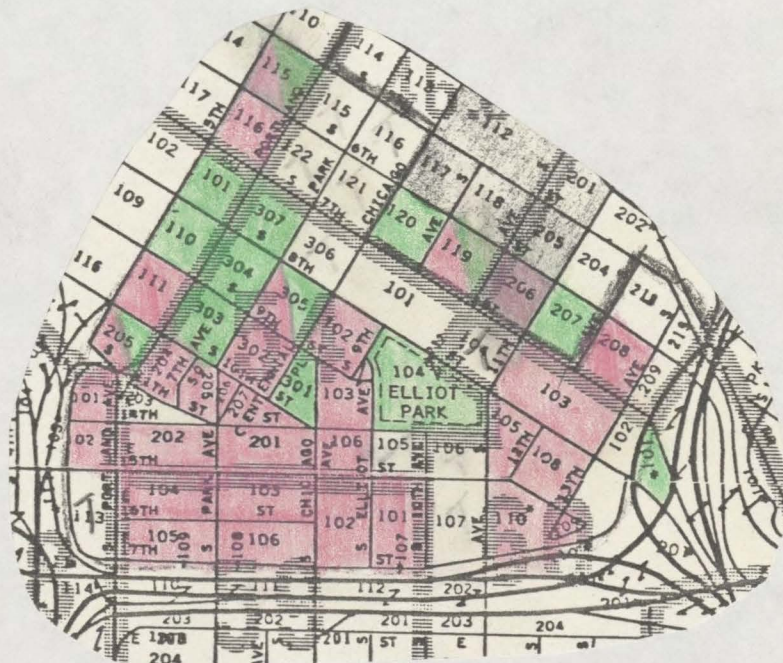
There ARE blocks northward (a few) whose use has not
changed in the past few years and it must be the
increase in land value

H.O. #	CONDOMINIUM	YEAR BUILT	DATE RECORDED	HOP IV	# OF UNITS
88.	Heatherton of Edina 4100 & 4120 Parklawn Ave. Edina	1971	8-8-77		105
90.	Sagamore 3 (see 77)				
92.	2867 James Ave. So. Minneapolis	1915	12-9-77		4
93.	Greenbriar Village #2 (see 85)		10-3-77		
94.	Valley View Estates 6201 Brookview Edina	1961	8-16-78		5
99.	7500 Cahill Rd. Edina	1972	7-3-78		207
100.	2600 & 2602 37th Ave. NE St. Anthony	1960's	1-20-78		2
102.	Greenbriar Village #3 (see 85)				
104.	Presidential Estates 2801 Flag Ave. No. New Hope (see 124)	1970	8-9-78		72
105.	Brookview Condos 9141-7 Olson Mem. Hwy. Golden Valley	1963	8-16-78		71
107.	Edina Place on York 7300-7350 York Ave. So. Edina	1973	10-3-78		140
108.	6108 Sumter Ave. No. New Hope	1971	6-28-78		6

SOURCE OF THE GREATEST VALUE INCREASE PER BLOCK BETWEEN 1980 and 1982/83



Blank Indicates information not available



WE LEARN:

Property, rather than land, is increasing in value
the most

I feel this takes the heat off the stadium in a simple equation of rising land values

It is not the stadium, I think, but the larger fact that Elliot Park is proximate to downtown, the CBD, which is drawing private housing developers.

Also EPNI's own development through NIC is raising values as is Augustana, Metro Med Center - that is, the neighborhood institutions themselves are responsible for what appear as aggregate block and area increases

H.O. #	CONDOMINIUM	YEAR BUILT	DATE RECORDED	HOP IV	# OF UNITS
109.	1901 Emerson Ave. So. Minneapolis	1964	6-13-78		32
111.	Sunrise Bay Estates 1304 W. Medicine Lake Dr. Plymouth	1977	1-24-79		82
113.	3527 Pleasant Ave. Minneapolis	1921	10-25-78		4
114.	Sungate I 2569 Alabama Ave. So. St. Louis Park (see 117 & 118)	1967	11-9-78		60
115.	920 25th St. E. Minneapolis	1806	3-30-79		4
117.	Sungate II (see 114)		11-9-78		
118.	Sungate III (see 114)		1978		
120.	6308 Barrie Rd. Edina	1964	2-7-79		100
124.	Presidential Estates II 2800 Hillsboro Ave. No. New Hope	1970	5-21-79		72
125.	Greenbriar Village #4 (see 85)				
126.	Greenbriar Village #5 (see 85)				
127.	Greenbriar Village #6 (see 85)				

SOURCE OF 51% PLUS OF VALUE ON EACH BLOCK AT LAST ASSESSMENT

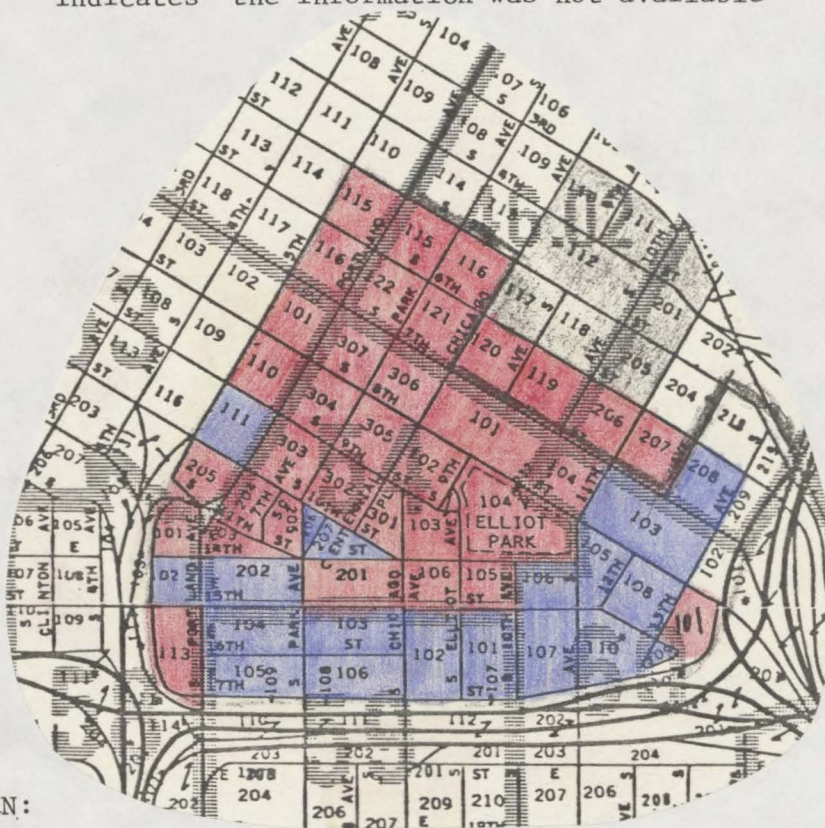


indicates that more than half of the value attributed the block came from "Other" property



indicates that more than half of the value attributed the block came from residential property in every case it was rental property which dominated the residential category

Blank indicates the information was not available



WE LEARN:

Nothing very surprising

Location of the new housing development in Elliot Park southward
(there are more things further north which are probably too recent to have gotten onto the city computer)

Cross checking with MAP #2 we see that there is an overlap between the blocks where values most increased and blocks where most of the value was in rental housing

Cross checking with MAP #3 we see that there is an overlap between blocks where the greatest value increase between 1980 and 82-83 was with buildings as opposed to land and the blocks where the greatest value is in rental housing

One might surmise that renters are picking up the tab for much of the increasing value

H.O. #	CONDOMINIUM	YEAR BUILT	DATE RECORDED	HOP IV	# OF UNITS
21.	Hampshire House 2309 Hampshire Ave. So. St. Louis Park	1972	6-27-73		13
22.	Lynwood 4516 State Hwy. 7 St. Louis Park	1965	10-31-73		12
23.	River Towers 15 So. 1st St. Minneapolis	1964	6-15-73		500
41.	Greensboro 7316-7414 W. 22nd St. 7207-7453 Franklin Ave. W. 2004-2040 Louisiana Ave. S. St. Louis Park	1969	7-18-74		260
43.	York of Edina 6450 York Ave. So. Edina	1967	2-15-74		80
46.	3810-12 W. Lake Calhoun Pkwy. Minneapolis (see 47 & 48)	1964	8-19-74		6
47.	3814-16 W. Lake Calhoun Pkwy. (see 46)	1964			
48.	3820-22 W. Lake Calhoun Pkwy. (see 46)	1965			
50.	231-9 26th Ave. NE Minneapolis	1971	2-11-75		5
67.	4360 Brookside Ct. Edina (see 70 & 71)	1969	8-15-75		189

PROBLEMS WITH THE DATA"

What are the variety of possible meanings for the absence of data?

Why have some values not changed?

Why have the values of some blocks gone down?

How current are these assessments? (My sense is that the process is so lengthy that many of the figures don't reflect development that may already be a year old)

Is there no clearer distinguishment than "Other" for all non residential prop?

TLA

f-10-24

It's not hard-hitting or especially provocative but it's ok as an overall account.

I would vote for a universal cover, a few copies, It doesn't need any editing really, except quick once over, perhaps by Chris.

It really should have more on CVC as Fred suggests but I'm sure Bev is burned out by now

TMS

Well Tom, I followed the outline and it came to 49 pages

I think it's totally unusable to any one - for anything - there are lots of things I don't understand about what went on, and then there are things that are too petty to ever repeat - and I think I have shot my wad on this...

Elliot Park????What Elliot Park????

BS

duli0011

<http://www.cura.umn.edu/publications/NPC>
02/27/07 03:22 PM



July 17

Tom:

My reactions to Bev's work on Elliot Park:

It seems unusable in its present form but it's a shame to have spent all that time on it without something more focused and usable.

What makes up the bulk of the report is a problem facing many neighborhoods now -- how to accomplish development without alienating one's neighborhood base. Something along the lines of "Pitfalls of Neighborhood Planning and Development: Elliot Park as a Case in Point" would be useful. With a good deal of deleting, some expansion and focusing, I think it would make a worthwhile paper. An organizational analysis like this is fairly unique; most accounts seem to rely on statistical demographics or a more personalized approach. The two additions that come to mind are some (brief) comparison at some point to the efforts made, for example, by the West Bank CDC and PAC to minimize the effects of development/displacement; the second is, given the dynamics as presented by Beverly, the CVC fight is slighted more than it ought to be -- i.e. given its timing and content, that fight exacerbated the tensions between EPNI and NIC.

All the above might be by the by, however, I suspect that Bev isn't particularly interested in redoing much if any of the present draft. I would be happy to talk with her or you about suggestions for changes if you think that would be helpful.

Truef

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